

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 OMB-01 SAJ-01 CG-00 DOTE-00 AID-05 IGA-01

TRSE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05 PA-01 SS-15

PRS-01 SP-02 H-02 NSC-05 /075 W
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O R 061820Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 280

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CINCUSAFE

USCINCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON

DIRNSA WASHDC

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES

SECDEF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 6116

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, TU, US

SUBJ: EMBASSY APPRAISAL OF ECEVIT POSITION

REF: A) ANKARA 6079; B) ANKARA 6113; C) ANKARA 6114; D) ANKARA 6115

WHILE TO DATE ECEVIT' S REMARKS CONCERNING THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT
EFFORT TO GO-SLOW IN BREAKING UP THE US-TURK RELATIOSHIP HAVE BEEN
ON THE UNHELPFUL SIDE, HE HAS UNTIL THE PAST FEW DAYS BEEN SUBSTANTIA
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SILENT CONCERNING THE JULY 24 CONGRESSIONAL VOTE AND THE SUBSEQUENT DEMIREL COUNTERMEASURES. HE HAS NOW SPOKEN OUT, AND FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY APPRAISAL OF UNFOLDING POSITION HE IS ADOPTING:

A. IN PART WITH AN EYE TO THE UPCOMING SENATE ELECTIONS, ECEVIT IS NOW ACCUSING THE GOVERNMENT OF NOT RPT NOT BEING DECISIVE ENOUGH OR FAR REACHING ENOUGH IN ITS COUNTERMEASURES, AND HIS "WHY ARE THE AMERICANS BEING ALLOWED TO STAY" STANCE OBVIOUSLY MAKES IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT TO WAIT OUT THE NEXT CONGRESSIONAL VOTE. AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF GRAY AREAS WITH RESPECT TO IMPLEMENTATION OF CURRENT GOT SUSPENSION RULES, AND WE BELIEVE THERE ARE AT LEAST SOME INFLUENTIAL PERSONS IN THE GOVERNMENT HERE WHO ARE HOPING THAT THESE GRAY AREAS CAN BE LEFT WITHOUT FURTHER DEFINITION FOR THE INTERM PERIOD. ECEVIT'S STATEMENTS OBVIOUSLY UNDERCUT THIS EFFORT. MORE IMPORTANTLY AND LOOKING DOWN THE ROAD, THEY SERVE NOTICE ON THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT THAT REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED, ECEVIT AND HIS PARTY ARE GOING TO BE PUSHING FOR DIMINUTION OF THE US ROLE HERE. THIS IN TURN MEANS THAT EVEN IF THE EMBARGO IS REMOVED, OUR PROSPECTS FOR OBTAINING AN END RESULT WHICH IN SUBSTANCE (ALTHOUGH NOT IN FORM) COMES FAIRLY CLOSE TO WHAT WE HAD BEFORE ARE DIMINISHED. IN THIS CONNECTION HE SPECIFICALLY HAS RULED OUT TWO POSSIBLE VALUABLE FORMULAS, A RENTAL ARRANGEMENT AND/OR AN INCREASED NATO UMBRELLA.

B. OF EQUAL IF NOT GREATER CONCERN IS THAT WHAT WE MAY BE SEEING HERE IS THE BEGINNING OF A PUBLIC MOVING BY ECEVIT AWAY FROM TURKEY'S TRADITIONAL FOREIGN POLICY COURSE. ECEVIT IS CLEARLY ONE OF TURKEY'S MOST CHARISMATIC LEADERS AND HOW HE GOES IN THE FUTURE CAN HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT ON TURKEY'S COURSE IN THE YEARS AHEAD. IN THIS CONNECTION I HAVE ALWAYS FELT THAT ECEVIT COULD FOLLOW TWO GENERAL ROUTES. FIRST, HE COULD REMAIN COMMITTED, AS ALMOST ALL POST-WAR TURKISH LEADERS BEFORE HIM HAVE REMAINED COMMITTED, TO TURKEY'S ASSOCIATION WITH AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE. BECAUSE HE, MORE THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE LEADER, SPEAKS FOR BOTH THE ELITE AND THE DISENCHANTED AND REBELLIOUS HERE, SUCH A POSITION ON HIS

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PART COULD HAVE AN IMPORTANT SIGNIFICANCE WITH RESPECT TO TURKEY'S REMAINING ON A STABLE PRO-WESTERN COURSE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS NO SECRET THAT MANY ELEMENTS IN HIS PARTY HAVE LONG PRIVATELY (AND IN SOME INSTANCES NOT REPEAT NOT SO PRIVATELY) ADVOCATED, IF NOT A BREAK WITH THE WEST, AT LEAST SOMETHING OF A WITHDRAWAL AND A MORE SEPARATE COURSE. UNTIL RECENTLY, IT WAS GENERALLY CONSIDERED HERE THAT NO POLITICAL LEADER ASPIRING TO PRIME MINISTERSHIP COULD OPENLY

ESPOUSE SUCH A CHANGE IN POLICY AND UNTIL RECENTLY ECEVIT HAS BEEN
GENERALLY CAREFUL NOT REPEAT NOT TO DO SO. NEVERTHELESS, THE
SUSPICION HAS REMAINED IN POLITICAL
CIRCLES HERE THAT NOT RPT NOT ONLY ARE THERE CERTAIN TRADITIONAL PRE-
SSURES WITHIN THE RPP TO GO IN THIS DIRECTION BUT THAT ECEVIT HIMSELF
HAS ALL ALONG HAD A CERTAIN PRIVATE SYMPATHY FOR IT.

ECEVIT'S REMARKS IN THE PAST FEW DAYS HAVE BEEN DAMAGING BUT THEY
DO NOT RPT NOT YET REPRESENT A POINT OF NO RETURN WITH RESPECT TO
THESE CONFLICTING COURSES. HIS REMARKS NEVERTHELESS NEED TO BE TAKEN
IN

THE CONTEXT OF HIS REPEATED COMMENTS TO ME OVER THE LAST NINE MONTHS
THAT IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT THE AMERICAN CONGRESS IS DETERMINED, FOR
WHATEVER EXCUSE (CYPRUS, POPPIES, ARMENIANS, FILBERTS) TO TAKE A
HOSTILE STAND TOWARDS TURKEY. AS DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL, ECEVIT'S
COURSE FOLLOWING THE INITIAL CYPRUS LANDING WAS DISTINCTLY PRO-AMERIC
AN

AND I HAVE TENDED TO PUT THESE SUBSEQUENT REMARKS DOWN, IN PART, TO
AN ECEVIT EFFORT TO MOVE BACK TOWARD A MORE MIDDLE POSITION BETWEEN
THE TWO LONG-RANGE COURSES OPEN TO HIM. GIVEN ECEVIT'S POTENTIAL
LONG-TERM IMPORTANCE TO THIS COUNTRY, IT MAY WELL BE, HOWEVER, THAT
ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT AND DAMAGING CONSEQUENCES OF THE EMBARGO
IN RETROSPECT WILL BE THE PROVIDING OF BOTH THE EXCUSE AND THE
IMPELLENT TO TAKE ECEVIT, NOT RPT NOT SIMPLY BACK TO THE MIDDLE,
BUT DOWN THE WRONG ROAD.

C. ON THE PLUS SIDE, WE FIND DEFINITELY HELPFUL ECEVIT'S COMMENTS RE
CYPRUS. HE IS SAYING THERE NEEDS TO BE FLEXIBILITY ON BOTH SIDES
AND HE IS PUSHING THE GOT TO TAKE ACTION
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